

Message Text

PAGE 01 BONN 03589 01 OF 02 091954 Z

43

ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADP-00 NSC-10 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 INR-09

NSAE-00 RSC-01 TRSE-00 EB-03 H-01 CIEP-01 STR-01

OMB-01 T-01 COME-00 L-02 RSR-01 PM-03 DODE-00 MBFR-02

SAJ-01 /062 W

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R 091751 Z MAR 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3786

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION BERLIN

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BONN 3589

LIMDIS; PARIS PASS SHULTZ

E. O

TAGS: PFOR GW

SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH BRANDT

SUMMARY: I MET WITH THE CHANCELLOR ON MARCH 9 FOR A FRANK EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON CURRENT PROBLEMS LASTING ONE HOUR. WE DISCUSSED U. S. RELATIONS WITH EUROPE, THE SITUATION WITHIN THE SPD, ATTITUDES TOWARDS AMERICANS IN GERMANY, GERMANY EASTERN POLICY AND THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE GDR, AND THE FUTURE OF WEST BERLIN. BRANDT WAS IN GOOD FORM AND SEEMS TO HAVE RECOVERED COMPLETELY FROM HIS PHYSICAL AILMENTS OF RECENT MONTHS. END SUMMARY.

1. THE CHANCELLOR SAID HE WAS LOOKING FORWARD VERY MUCH TO HIS MEETING NEXT WEEK WITH SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY SHULTZ. WE HAD UNDOUBTEDLY REACHED A POINT IN TIME WHERE ISSUES BETWEEN THE U. S. AND EUROPE, ON BOTH THE PSYCHOLO-
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 03589 01 OF 02 091954 Z

GICAL AND SUBSTANTIVE LEVELS, NEEDED TO BE FRANKLY DISCUSSED AND SOLUTIONS FOUND TO DISPEL THE CURRENT MALAISE. THE RHETORICAL LEVEL SEEMED TO BE RISING ON BOTH SIDES IN A

WAY WHICH MERELY HEATED THE ATMOSPHERE AND MADE SENSIBLE SOLUTIONS MORE DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE. IN THIS CONTEXT, THE CHANCELLOR REFERRED TO A RECENT STATEMENT BY CONGRESSMAN REUSS THREATENING THE EUROPEANS WITH ECONOMIC SANCTIONS.

THE CHANCELLOR EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT TODAY' S MEETING OF FINANCE MINISTERS IN PARIS WOULD RESULT IN MOVEMENT TOWARDS A MONETARY PACKAGE ACCEPTABLE BOTH TO THE U. S. AND TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. HE NOTED IN PASSING THAT, FORTUNATELY, THE PROBABLE FRENCH ELECTORAL OUTCOME ON SUNDAY WOULD RESULT IN A GOVERNMENT MORE FLEXIBLE AND OPEN TO INFLUENCE IN A MODERATE DIRECTION THAN ONE HEAVILY DOMINATED BY OLD- LINE GAULLISTS.

2. I REVIEWED OUR POSITIONS ON THE FORTHCOMING TRADE NEGOTIATIONS AND PREFERENTIAL ARRANGEMENTS BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES, STRESSING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE EC' S DEMONSTRATING THAT IT WAS WILLING TO TAKE SERIOUS ACCOUNT OF U. S. REQUIREMENTS. IT WAS HIGHLY UNDESIRABLE THAT THE IMPRESSION GROW THAT THE COMMUNITY WAS INDIFFERENT TO ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE U. S. AND UNWILLING TO CONSIDER THE KINDS OF CONCESSIONS WITHOUT WHICH AGREEMENT ON THE BROAD RANGE OF ISSUES BEFORE US WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE.

3. THE CHANCELLOR SAID HE FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND THE IMPORTANCE WHICH WE ATTACHED TO THE ARRANGEMENTS BEING MADE BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND THE MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES. PRIMIN HEATH HAD TOLD HIM A WEEK AGO THAT THE U. S. SEEMED ANXIOUS THAT BRITISH INFLUENCE BE MAINTAINED IN THE CARRIBEAN AREA, INCLUDING PREFERENTIAL ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS, AND IT SEEMED TO HIM THAT THE SAME PRINCIPLE SHOULD APPLY TO THE MEDITERRANEAN WHERE IT WAS POLITICALLY IMPORTANT THAT THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES REMAIN TIED TO THE WEST. I POINTED OUT THAT THE CONTROVERSIAL QUESTION OF REVERSE PREFERENCES DID NOT SEEM TO BE AN INTEGRAL PART OF SUCH A POLITICAL APPROACH, SINCE THEY DID NOT BENEFIT THE MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES BUT THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY. MOREOVER, WE SIMPLY COULD NOT ACCEPT DISCRIMINATORY ARRANGEMENTS WHICH INJURED OUR NORMAL CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BONN 03589 01 OF 02 091954 Z

TRADE WITH THE COMMUNITY IN SENSITIVE ITEMS AS, FOR EXAMPLE, CITRUS. THE CHANCELLOR SAID HE WAS WILLING TO ACCEPT THAT REVERSE PREFERENCES COULD BE ELIMINATED.

4. WE DISCUSSED REPORTS OF RISING ANTI- AMERICAN SENTIMENT AMONG VARIOUS SEGMENTS OF THE GERMAN POPULATION, INCLUDING THE LEFT WING OF HIS OWN PARTY. THE CHANCELLOR ADMITTED THAT, FOR A VARIETY OF REASONS, THERE HAD BEEN A COOLING OFF IN THE ATTITUDES OF SOME GERMANS TOWARDS THE AMERICAN PRESENCE, BUT HE DID NOT FEEL THIS CORRESPONDED

IN ANY WAY TO THE BASIC VIEWS OF THE VAST MAJORITY. THERE WAS A PROBLEM WITH THE YOUNG PEOPLE IN THAT THEY HAD LITTLE RECOLLECTION OF THE AMERICAN ROLE IN THE EARLY POST-WAR PERIOD AND HAD BEEN SUBJECTED TO A GREAT DEAL OF NEGATIVE CONDITIONING ABOUT THE U. S. BY THE MASS MEDIA, INCLUDING MUCH MATERIAL ORIGINATING IN THE U. S. HE ALSO ADMITTED THAT THERE WAS A PROBLEM WITHIN THE SPD AS A NEW GENERATION OF YOUNG POLITICIANS CAME INTO ACTIVE LIFE, BUT HERE AGAIN THIS DID NOT CORRESPOND TO THE SENTIMENTS OF THE PARTY MAJORITY. HE HAD SAID, IN AN INTERVIEW A FEW DAYS AGO WITH JENS FEDDERSEN OF THE NEUE RHEIN ZEITUNG, THAT HE WAS CONFIDENT HE WOULD BE IN FULL CONTROL OF THE SITUATION AT THE SPD PARTY CONVENTION NEXT MONTH IN HANNOVER AND THAT THREE POINTS WOULD CLEARLY EMERGE: (A) NO RESOLUTIONS WOULD BE PASSED THAT WOULD BE IN CONTRADICTION OF THE PARTY PROGRAM ON THE BASIS OF WHICH THE NOV 1972 ELECTION HAD BEEN WON; (B) NO RESOLUTIONS WOULD BE PASSED IN CONTRADICTION OF THE GODESBERG PROGRAM WHICH WOULD REMAIN THE BASIS OF THE SPD; AND (C) ANY GROUP WHICH WOULD TRY AT HANNOVER TO INTRODUCE POLICY CONSIDERATIONS CONTRARY TO REALITY WOULD BE OVERWHELMINGLY DEFEATED. WHEN FEDDERSEN HAD EXPRESSED SOME AMAZEMENT AT BRANDT'S STATEMENT THAT HE CONSIDERED THE U. S. GERMANY'S MOST IMPORTANT ALLY, BRANDT HAD RESPONDED THIS WAS NOT ONLY A HISTORICAL BUT A PRACTICAL NECESSITY ARISING OUT OF THE FACTUAL SITUATION.

5. WE THEN TURNED TO GERMANY'S EASTERN POLICY AND REPORTS NOW CIRCULATING THAT THE GDR, HAVING ACHIEVED OR BEING ASSURED OF ACHIEVING ITS ESSENTIAL GOALS OF GENERAL RECOGNITION AND MEMBERSHIP IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, WAS NOW RENEGING ON ITS PART OF THE UNDERSTANDINGS REACHED WITH THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC. THE CHANCELLOR SAID THAT THERE
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 BONN 03589 01 OF 02 091954 Z

UNDOUBTEDLY HAD BEEN A HARDENING OF THE GDR POSITION IN THE RECENT PAST. IT WAS, HOWEVER, WRONG TO CONCLUDE THAT THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC WAS NOW IN EFFECT BEING CHEATED. THE FACT WAS THAT, IN TERMS OF THE 4- POWER BERLIN AGREEMENT AND THE MANY OTHER IMPROVEMENTS ALREADY MADE, THE GDR HAD ALREADY PAID A GREAT DEAL. THE GDR LEADERSHIP WAS GREATLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE STABILITY OF THE REGIME UNDER THE MORE OPEN CONDITIONS CREATED BY ITS AGREEMENTS WITH THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND LACKED CONFIDENCE IN THE ABILITY OF THE COMMUNIST SYSTEM IN EAST GERMANY TO COMPETE WITH WEST GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY. THERE WAS A STATE OF NEAR PANIC IN EAST BERLIN AT THE DESTABILIZING PROSPECTS FOR THE NEXT FEW YEARS, AND IT WAS LITTLE WONDER THAT THE LEADERS THERE WERE TRYING TO LOCK THE DOOR. AS FAR AS HE COULD SEE, THE CHANCELLOR CONTINUED, THE DETERMINING FACTOR WOULD BE THE STATE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE U. S. AND THE SOVIET UNION. AS LONG AS THE SOVIET UNION WISHED TO

IMPROVE THAT RELATIONSHIP, IT COULD HARDLY PERMIT ANY
SIGNIFICANT DETERIORATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN EAST AND
WEST EUROPE. THE SOVIETS HAD EXERCISED GREAT PRESSURE ON
THE GDR DURING RECENT YEARS TO ACHIEVE THE AGREEMENTS WHICH
HAD BEEN REACHED, AND HE HAD LITTLE DOUBT THAT SUCH
PRESSURE WOULD BE EXERCISED IN THE FUTURE WHEN ESSENTIAL.

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PAGE 01 BONN 03589 02 OF 02 091959 Z

52

ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADP-00 NSC-10 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 INR-09

NSAE-00 RSC-01 TRSE-00 EB-03 H-01 RSR-01 CIEP-01

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3787

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION BERLIN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BONN 3589

LIMDIS; PARIS PASS SECY SHULTZ

6. OUR FINAL SUBJECT WAS THE FUTURE OF WEST BERLIN. AS
FORMER GOVERNOR MAYOR OF THE CITY WHOSE POLITICAL CAREER
HAD BEEN LAUNCHED THERE, THE CHANCELLOR SAID HE HAD A
STRONG PERSONAL INTEREST IN THAT FUTURE. THERE UNDOUBT-
EDLY WAS A PROBLEM, DERIVING PARTIALLY FROM THE DEMOGRAPHIC
AND GEOGRAPHIC SITUATION OF THE CITY, AND PARTIALLY
FROM THE OLD- LINE WEST BERLIN POLITICIANS AND BUSINESS-
MEN WHO WERE UNABLE TO ADJUST TO THE REALITIES OF 1973.
THEY WERE STILL THINKING IN TERMS OF CONFRONTATION ALONG
THE FRONT LINE RATHER THAN ABOUT HOW NEW IDEAS COULD BE
DEVELOPED TO KEEP WEST BERLIN VITAL AND ATTUNED TO NEW
OPPORTUNITIES. WHEN FINANCE MINISTER SCHMIDT HAD RECENTLY
DISCUSSED WITH A GROUP OF BERLIN BUSINESSMEN THE POSSIBILITY
OF ENDING SOME OF THEIR TAX EXEMPTIONS, THEY HAD REGARDED
THIS AS AN INSULT RATHER THAN A REFLECTION OF THEIR
INCREASED ECONOMIC PROSPERITY.

7. THE CHANCELLOR ADDED THAT WE MUST THINK FURTHER ABOUT

THIS QUESTION OF WEST BERLIN AND EXCHANGE IDEAS. AS A
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PAGE 02 BONN 03589 02 OF 02 091959 Z

START IN THIS DIRECTION, HE SUGGESTED THAT HE HOST A SMALL
PRIVATE DINNER WITHOUT PUBLICITY WHICH A FEW RELEVANT
GERMAN OFFICIALS AND I SHOULD ATTEND IN ORDER TO AIR THE
WHOLE SUBJECT IN DETAIL.

8. COMMENT: THE CHANCELLOR WAS IN FINE FETTER. I HAVE
KNOWN HIM FOR OVER TWENTY YEARS AND HAVE SELDOM FOUND HIM
MORE VIGOROUS AND SEEMINGLY EAGER TO DEAL WITH POLITICAL
DIFFICULTIES AHEAD, PARTICULARLY WITHIN HIS OWN PARTY.
WHATEVER HIS HEALTH PROBLEMS SINCE THE ELECTION, WHICH HE
DESCRIBED AS AN IRRITATING VOICE AILMENT PLUS A SUCCESSION
OF SEVERE COLDS, HE NOW SEEMS FULLY RECOVERED. HE CONCEDED
THAT, A PARTICULARLY LOW POINT LAST WINTER, HE HAD BEEN
FED UP WITH THE WHOLE BUSINESS AND HAD LOST HIS ZEST FOR
POLITICAL ACTIVITY, BUT OBSERVED THAT THIS HAD NOW
RETURNED IN FULL MEASURE.

9. I THINK HE IS SINCERE WHEN HE CONTINUES TO ATTRIBUTE
BASIC IMPORTANCE TO THE GERMAN- AMERICAN RELATIONSHIP,
ALTHOUGH ON SOME ISSUES HE WILL TAKE A POSITION NOT IDENTICAL
WITH THAT WHICH WE WOULD WISH. HE HAS NOT WORKED OUT IN HIS
OWN MIND HOW THIS EMPHASIS CAN BE MADE COMPATIBLE WITH
EMPHASIS ON SHORT TERM EUROPEAN INTERESTS. ON THE WHOLE,
HE WILL CONTINUE TO EXERCISE A POSITIVE FORCE WITHIN THE
VARIOUS NEGOTIATING CONTEXTS THAT LOOM AHEAD. HE MAY BE
OVERLY SANGUINE ABOUT HIS CAPABILITY TO CONTROL THE LEFTIST
TREND WITHIN HIS OWN PARTY, BUT IF HE REALLY PUTS HIS
MIND TO IT, AS IT NOW SEEMS HE WILL, HE SHOULD STILL BE
ABLE TO DOMINATE THE PARTY CONVENTION IN HANNOVER AND BE
ABLE TO BLOCK EFFORTS RADICALLY TO MODIFY THE BASIC COURSE
OF SPD POLICY. HILLENBRAND

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